

Message Text

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INFO AMCONSUL BELEM

AMCONSUL PORTO ALEGRE

AMCONSUL RECIFE

AMCONSUL RIO DE JANEIRO

AMCONSUL SAO PAULO

AMCONSUL SALVADOR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 0944

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, BR

SUBJECT: JUSTICE MINISTER ANNOUNCES DISCOVERY OF CLANDESTINE
COMMUNIST PARTY PRESS

REF: A. BRASILIA 9711 B. BRASILIA 235

SUMMARY: JUSTICE MINISTER FALCAO ANNOUNCED IN
NATION-WIDE ADDRESS EVENING OF JAN. 30 THAT
BRAZILIAN SECURITY ORGANS HAD DISCOVERED A
CLANDIESTINE PRESS OPERATING IN RIO DE JANEIRO
AND SAO PAULO TO PRODUCE COMMUNIST PARTY PROPAGANDA
MATERIAL, LINKIG ITS ACTIVITIES TO UNNAMED CANDIDATES
IN THE NOV 15 ELECTIONS. THE SPEECH, WITH
ITS HEAVY STRESS ON THE NECESSITY FOR CONTINUED
ANTI-SUBVERSIVE VIGILANCE ON THE PART OF THE
AUTHORITIES, IS UNDOUBTEDLY INTENDED AS A WARNING
AGAINST ACTIVITIES BY THE NEW FEDERAL CONGRESS
THAT TOUCH ON SENSITIVE AND EMBASRRASSING SECURITY
ACTION. ONE ADDITIONAL INTERPRETATION, HOWEVER,
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INSPIRED BY OFFICIAL SOURCES, HOLDS THAT THE

SPEECH INDICATES A SHIFTING OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR COORDINATION OF ANTI-SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES FROM THE MILITARY SECURITY ORGANS TO THE MINISTRY OF JUSTICE. IF SO, THE SPEECH WOULD REPRESENT CONFIRMATION OF THE GEISEL GOVERNMENT'S RECENT EMPHASIS ON BRINGING THE "PARALLEL POWER" UNDER CONTROL.
END SUMMARY:

1. IN A NATION-WIDE TELEVISION ADDRESS ON THE EVENING OF JAN 30, JUSTICE MINISTRE ARMANDO FALCAO, THE ADMINISTRATION'S CHIEF SPOKESMAN ON INTERNAL POLITICS, ANNOUNCED THE DISCOVERY IN RIO DE JANEIRO AND SAO PAULO OF A CLANDESTINE PRINTING AND DISTRIBUTION NETWORK MAINTAINED BY THE OUTLAWED BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY (PARTIDO COMUNISTA BRASILEIRO.) ACCORDING TO FALCAO, THE NETWORK PRODUCED THE PARTY JOURNAL "WORKER'S VOICE" (VOZ DO OPERARIO), IN ADDITION TO OTHER SUBVERSIVE PUBLICATIONS.

2. KEY PASSAGES FOLLOW:

QUOTE: AFTER THE DISCOVERIES MADE BY THE BRAZILIAN SECURITY ORGANIZATIONS, IT HAS , IN SUMMARY, BEEN POSSIBLE TO IDENTIFY THE FOLLOWING: THE PARTICIPATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN THE NOV 15, 1974 ELECTIONS AND THE INTENSIVE EFFORT AND SPECIFIC WORK CONDUCTED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN FAVOR OF CANDIDATES TO VARIOUS ELECTIVE POSTS DURING THE LAST ELECTIONS. THROUGH INVESTIGATIONS ALREADY CONDUCTED AND OTHERS WHICH ARE STILL BEING CARRIED OUT, IT HAS EQUALLY BEEN POSSIBLE BETTER TO IDENTIFY THE LEADERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY WITHIN BRAZIL, AS WELL AS PROPERLY TO IDENTIFY PERSONS WHO HAVE GENEROUSLY OFFERED FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY AS A RESULT OF WHAT HAS BEEN DISCOVERED, AS IS NATURAL, NUMEROUS ARRESTS HAVE BEEN MADE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE LAW. INQUIRIES HAVE BEEN PROPERLY INITIATED AND THE COMPETENT TRIALS WILL TAKE PLACE, SO THAT THE GUILTY MAY BE DULY AND LEGALLY PUNISHED OUR PEACE, OUR POLITICAL
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STABILITY , OUR GENERAL TRANQUILITY, OUR ECONOMIC GROWTH, OUR NATIONAL PROSPERITY ARE THE RESULT OF A PERMANENT VIGILANCE BY THE GOVERNMENTS WHICH CAME INTO POWER IN BRAZIL AFTER 1964. THIS VIGILANCE CANNOT, BY ANY MEANS, BE DISCONTINUED. . . THE GOVERNMENT PLACES ABOVE ALL CONTINGENCIES AND CIRCUMSTANCES THE PEACE OF THE PEOPLE, THE STABILITY OF THE REGIME, THE SECURITY OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS

BECAUSE,WITHOUT THESE PRELIMINARY AND BASIC CONDITIONS, BRAZIL
WOULD LOSE OR WILL LOSE ALL THE EFFORTS
IT HAS MADE SINCE 1964, AIMED AT THE
CONSTRUCTION OF OR GRANDUER. . . SOME, I INSIST,
HAVE AGAIN AND AGAIN TRIED TO DISTURB THIS WORK AND
THIS GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVITY . MANY SUPPOSE THAT SUBVERSION
IS DEAD IN BRAZIL. BUT HOW CAN IT BE DEAD,
IF IT ABSOLUTELY DOES NOT GIVE UP ITS INTENTION TO
DISTURB AND PERTURB? SUBVERSION IS SUBJUGATED,
CONTROLLED, BUT IT IS NOT EXTINCT. . . UNQUOTE.

3. COMMENT: THE FALCAO SPEECH, TIMED TO COINCIDE
WITH THE OPENING OF THE NEW CONGRESS, CARRIES A
CLEAR WARNING TO THE POLITICAL CLASS - PARTICULARLY
TO THE NEW FEDERAL CONGRESS, WITH ITS AUGMENTED
OPPOSITION COMPONENT -- NOT TO ENGAGE IN ACTIVITIES
OF AN UNORTHODOX OR "CONTESTATORY" OR "SUBVERSIVE"
NATURE. ONE NEWLY-ELECTED OPPOSITION DEPUTY,
FOR INSTANCE, REMARKED JOKINGLY TO EMBOFFS, "NOW
WE'RE ALL REWRITING OUR SPEECHES."

4. THE INTIMIDATORY ASPECT OF FALCAL'S ADDRESS, IS
PATENT IN HIS ALLEGATIONOF COMMUNIST PARTY SUPPORT
FOR THE CAMPAIGNS OF CANDIDATES IN THE NOV 15
ELECTIONS, WITH ITS IMPLICATION THAT THE GOVERNMENT
HOLDS EVIDENCE THAT COULD BE USED AGAINST SOME
MEMBERS OF THE NEW FEDERAL CONGRESS AND IN THE
FAILURE, THUS FAR, TO IDENTIFY ANY OF THE
COMPROMISED CONGRESSMEN, WHICH KEEPS THE SWORD
HOVERING OVER MANY HEADS. WE LINK THE TIMING
OF THE FALCAO SPEECH, GIVEN WHILE THE LEADERSHIP
OF BOTH PARTIES IS MEETING IN BRASILIA, TO THE
STRONG POSSIBILITY THAT MEMBERS OF THE OPPOSITION
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WILL PRESS FOR THE CONVENING OF A PARLIAMENTARY
COMMISSION ON INQUIRY TO INVESTIGATE THE FATE OF
A NUMBER OF PERSONS WHO ARE FEARED TO HAVE
"DISAPPEARED"WHILE IN THE HANDS OF THE SECURITY
APPARATUS. (THE OPPOSITION PARTY ALONE, WITH ITS
GREATER THAN ONE-THRID MEMBERSHIP IN THE LOWER
HOUSE, COULD VOTE SUCH AN INQUIRY.) SUCH AN
INVESTIGATION ALMOST CERTAINLY COULD NOT BE PERMITTED
BY THE GEISEL GOVERNMENT. THE FALCAO

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02

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SPEECH COULD CONSIDERABLY WEAKEN APPEAL OF SUCH A STEP IN EITHER OF TWO WAYS. IF O ESTADO'S VIEW (SEE BELOW) IS CORRECT, IT COULD BE SEEN AS UNDERMINING THE UTILITY OF SUCH A COMMISSION (OPPOSITION DEPUTY LYSANEAS MACIEL, A LEADING ADVOCATE OF AN INQUIRY, HAS OFTEN INISTED TO EMBOFFS THAT HE DOES KWOT DEMAND THE OVERTURNING OF THE SECURITY LAWS, BUT RATHER THEIR FULL OBSERVANCE BY THE SECURITY AGENCIES.) SECONDLY, IT COULD SUFFICIENTLY FRIGHTEN THE OPPOSITION PARTY LEADERSHIP TO CAUSE IT TO OPPOSE ANY FORMAL INQUIRY.

5. A DIFFERENT VERSION OF THE INTIMIDATORY ASPECT OF THE SPEECH WAS PROVIDED TO THE EMBASSY BY A KNOWLEDGEABLE AND SENIOR ARENA SENATOR. IN THE SENATOR'S VIEW THE SPEECH WAS DESIGNED PRINCIPALLY TO PROVIDE THE CONSERVATIVE WING OF THE MDB -- AND BY EXTENSION OF THE MDB LEADERSHIP -- WITH A SUFFICIENT RATIONAL TO WITHSTAND THE ON-SLAUGHT OF BOTH THE

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"AUTENTICOS" AND THE NEW "YOUNG TURK" MDB LEGISLATURE FOR A MORE AGGRESSIVE MDB POSTURE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSIONS OF INQUIRY. IN THE SENATOR'S VIEW THERE IS A DISTINCT COLLUSIVE ASPECT BETWEEN FALCAO AND THE MDB LEADERSHIP ALTHOUGH THE SENATOR DID NOT HAVE SUFFICIENT DATA TO ARGUE THAT THE COLLUSION WAS EXPLICIT RATHER THAN TACIT. IN CIRCUMSTANTIAL SUPPORT OF THE SENATOR'S VERSION IS FACT THAT MDB CONGRESSIONAL MINORITY LEADER, LAERTE VIEIRA, ON JAN. 31 DID FEND OFF AN ATTEMPT ON THE PART OF DEPUTY LYSANES MACIEL TO ESTABLISH A MISSION POLITIFAL PRISONER'S INVESTIGATING COMMISSION THROUGH THE USE OF PARLIAMENTARY LEGERDEMAIN WHICH WAS RECEIVED BY HOOTS AND CATCALLS BY THE NEW MDB DEPUTIES.

6. THE MESSAGE OF THE SPEECH, HOWEVER, MAY BE BOTH BROADER AND MORE SUBTLE THAN A SIMPLE WARNING. ACCORDING TO ONE INTERPRETATION BASED ON JUSTICE MINISTRY SOURCES AND PUBLISHED IN O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO, FALCAO'S ADDRESS INDICATES THAT THE GEISEL ADMINISTRATION IS SHIFTING AUTHORITY FOR ADMINISTERING INTERNAL SECURITY FROM THE MILITARY SECURITY ORGANS, WHICH WERE CHARGED WITH CARRYING OUT ANTI-SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES FROM THE LATE SIXTIES TO THE PRESENT TIME, INTO THE HANDS OF FALCAO AS MINISTER OF JUSTICE. AS EVIDENCE OF THIS O ESTADO POINTS OUT THAT THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE ARRESTS WAS MADE BY FALCAO, RATHER THEN BY THE RESPECTIVE REGIONAL MILITARY COMMAND, AS HAS BEEN THE PRACTICE IN THE PAST, AND POINTS TO FALCAO'S SEVERAL REFERENCES TO DUE LEGAL PROCESS AS INDICATING THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S ANTI-SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES ARE TO BE "LEGALIZED," THAT IS, CARRIED OUT IN FULL CONFORMITY WITH EXISTING LAW. IF THIS INTERPRETATION IS CORRCET, FALCAO'S TRENCANT ADVOCACY OF VIGILANT SECURITY MEASURES CAN BE SEEN AS REASSURANCE TO "HARD-LINE" ELEMENTS THAT PAST SECURITY ACTIONS WILL NOT BE SUBJECT TO PUBLIC SCRUTINY AND THAT EFFORTS TO "CIVILIANIZE" AND "LEGALIZE" ADMINISTRATION OF THE INTERNAL SECURITY APPARATUS DOES NOT IMPLY AN ABANDONMENT

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OF THE GOVERNMENT'S EXTRAORDINARY ANTI-SUBVERSIVE POWERS, SUCH AS AI-5. IN THIS SENCE, THE SPEECH WOULD FOLLOW GEISEL'S FAMILIAR BALANCING FORMULA, AS MOST RECENTLY STATED IN HIS YEAR-END ADDRESS (REFTEL A), OF PROMOTING POLITICAL "DESCOMPRESSAO" ON THE ONE HAND, WHILE LAYING HEAVY EMPHASIS ON MAINTENANCE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S SECURITY POWERS ON

THE OTHER. FURTHERMORE, THE ESTADO INTERPRETATION
SEEMS TO FIT IN WITH WHAT WE UNDERSTAND TO BE THE
ADMINISTRATION'S DESIRE TO GAIN CONTROL OF THE
SECURITY APPARATUS (SEE REFTEL B). IN ANY EVENT,
THIS POSITIVE ASPECT OF FALCAO'S SPEECH HAS,
AT THIS TIME, PURELY POTENTIAL IMPORTANCE. WE WILL
HAVE TO WAIT TO SEE WHETHER IT IS ACTUALLY TRANSLATED
INTO REALITY. MEANWHILE, THE INTIMIDATORY ASPECT
OF THE SPEECH, WHETHER UNILATERAL OR TACITLY COLLUSIVE,
OPERATES.
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